1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

When a baby is obviously alive but does not cry or cry loudly, that child "will grow up to be strong."

Following a normal delivery, the midwife washes the infant in tepid water at once and places it on a soft robe. In some cases a plant (*Parosela formosa*) is added to this water "to keep the child from crying." She rubs a mixture of grease and red ocher over the baby's body to keep the skin from getting sore. Next she strews pollen or ashes to the directions in clockwise circuit beginning with the east and holds the blanket and the child to the directions in the same order. Prayers and practices which mark her individually owned rite accompany this procedure. Meanwhile, others minister to the mother. Particular care is taken in cases of prolapse of the uterus to see that the organ is pushed back into place properly.

The afterbirth is gathered together in the robe or piece of old clothing upon which the woman has knelt. With it is put the umbilical cord. These must not be burned or buried. If they are buried and then dug up and consumed by animals, the child is harmed. The approved method of disposal is to place the bundle in a fruit-bearing bush or tree "because the tree comes to life every year, and they want life in this child to be renewed like the life in the tree." Before final disposal, the bundle is blessed by the midwife. To the tree she says, "May the child live and grow up to see you bear fruit many times."[3]

At the time of the birth ceremony a name may be suggested for the infant, often by the midwife. However, when nothing unusual marks the birth or distinguishes the newborn baby, the naming may not take place for two or three months. Even when a name is immediately conferred, there is little reason to think that the child will bear it long.

When my daughter was born, the midwife gave her a name, but it did not catch on. Then my wife called her "My Daughter." All the others around our camp now do so too. Later, before she is ten or eleven years old, we will give her another name. This is a Chiricahua custom. The baby name is outgrown. One child, for example, is called "Ugly Baby." But she will not be called

[3] One informant claimed that the cord is retained and later eaten by the child, but no verification of this was obtained from others.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born—"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 147 846

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602 195 father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old."

[193] The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 195 596 It is evident that these observances are related to that same economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:

I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go [496] through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use [426] the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 195 578 But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often masks repressed dislikes:

Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they [203] don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

775 the living are not severed. Therefore, it is dangerous to keep the dead in mind through excessive grief. "Calling the name of a [152] dead person any time is dangerous, but it is especially so after [561] dark." It is an insult to speak the name of the deceased before [578] his kin.

It is obvious that relatives and close friends of the deceased, particularly the former, are most likely to suffer from ghost experiences: "If one is a friend or relative of a dead person or in any way associated with him, there is a fear of his ghost."

[753] Precautions during and after the death rites will not totally eliminate ghost sickness. We remember the man who thought 775 that he was being persecuted for singing a deceased tribesman's 578 ceremonial song and the man who, in a dream, defied the ghost which sought his death, telling it that he would not die because he knew no false ceremony. It takes no great insight to infer that these two men had clashed over the validity of each other's claims of supernatural power. In other words, the fear of the return of the ghost is not unrelated to rivalries of everyday life. The more free from friction relations have been with an individual, the less likely is dread of his ghost to materialize.[14] This was definitely in the mind of the informant who said: "I don't think my father's ghost would come back to bother me. No, my father was a sensible man. He wouldn't do a thing like that. Only those who were trouble-makers in life would bother you that way."

775 The ghosts of enemy peoples, particularly Americans and 648 Mexicans, can cause an illness much like that produced by 753 Chiricahua ghosts but differing from it in some particulars.

When you just go out of your head and want to bite your tongue, and you get scared and numb all over the back and chest, that's sickness from the white man's ghost.

. . . . A white man's [American's] ghost can make you sick. You can always see the ghost that makes you sick [in white man's ghost sickness]. To see an In-

[14] For a socio-psychological interpretation of these fears of the ghosts of relatives and also of the power of living kin see Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. VII (1936), and "Further Comparative Anthropological Data Bearing on the Solution of a Psychological Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. IX (1938).

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

756 The quest for a suitable shaman is sometimes a long one:
755

When you are sick, you tell the shaman what is the matter with you; you tell him your symptoms. If the shaman doesn't do you any good, you change to another. D. has been having a number of shamans sing for him.

The request for ceremonial aid is a delicate matter. Some shamans may be contacted for this purpose only during the daytime. If the sick person is able to do so, he is the one who visits the shaman; if not, a relative acts for him.

When C. came over he said, "Help me with whatever you know. I have tried others, but it seems as though I got no help out of it. Now I have come here to see you. I think there is hope, and today I want you to lift up my boy who is sick." . . . . C. called me brother. Just because C. was asking for help he called me brother.

• 551 Since the personal name is reserved for appeal and emergency,
755 the need of the supplicant may be emphasized by its use:
756

If a person is very sick and is sent to a shaman, but is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he calls him by his name. I call this "to plead in the Chiricahua way." To do it you call the name of the person and then add, "I ask you to do this which I am to say." Then you tell what you want. This is a way of asking for help, particularly ceremonial help, but it is also used in cases of grave emergency or death too. It is always said with the name and shows that the person speaking relies on the person spoken to. It puts the person spoken to under an obligation. He can hardly refuse and not feel ashamed afterward.

The names of other members of the shaman's family may be mentioned also:

If a shaman is addressed by his name, he will be more likely to perform the needed ceremony. So that he can't refuse, you can say, "So-and-so, in the name of all your children, your wife, your whole family, I ask you to help me now." You can mention them by name. He can hardly refuse you after that.

755 Then, to show respect and faith, the suppliant "marks" the
756 shaman "in the right way" with pollen. The usual manner is to
[788] trace a cross on the shaman's right foot, sprinkle pollen on other
[431] parts of his body, and finally draw a cross on his left foot. Often a ceremonial gift is placed on the shaman's foot at this time too, and the shaman picks it up to indicate that he will accept the case; or a cigarette may be placed on his foot, and he smokes it to express consent.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726 535 782 making a plea for success and personal safety in the coming conflict. The dance proceeds with prayer and ritual:

[778] We dance one night and start the next morning. Everyone going on the party had to dance for power. Men puffed smoke to the four directions and prayed: "May I kill an enemy. May I get food."

The war dance lasted for four nights. We danced and prayed for good luck—not to have fun. We wanted to see our enemy and have a victory. This was a very strong ceremony. We asked our supernatural power to let us have the Mexican general or president. We called him by name for four days so that we would capture or kill him. We were always after him and prayed to get him.

726 535 533 The principal singer of the war songs, a patriarch whose supernatural power is connected with raid and war, acts as another link between this dance and the ceremonial complex. A knot of male singers (women do not sing for the war dance) intone the refrain, beating on a piece of rawhide or on pottery drums, and this shaman chants the half-sung, half-spoken prayers. In these prayers, when the other voices are stilled, he calls upon the individual to demonstrate his manliness. One war-dance song contains these words (any name can be substituted for the one that is used here):

Geronimo, they say to you,
You! You!
They call you again and again.

Inspired by the ceremonialism of the occasion, the chosen man responds:

The shaman is on the side of the circle of seated warriors. He calls in his song on such-and-such a warrior to dance. . . . . He calls on one man after another until all are dancing. . . . . When the shaman calls, there is no backing out. I don't care if the odds are against him, a man goes out if he is called upon. He is frenzied, beside himself. It is the power, the prayers, and not just the man.

726 535 533 561 577 The use of the personal name acts as an exciting challenge to the warrior:

In the war dance the singer actually calls a man's name. He pretty near has got to go then. He's got to make some kind of a showing. "So-and-so, get up and go to the enemy!" He's got to act when he hears this. He can't very well stay back and keep his self-respect. When we appeal to a man to help, we use his name.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726
535
533
551
577

. . . . Not all come out at once. They name a man. This is in the song. They say, "You are a man! Now you are being called. What are you going to do when we fight with our enemy?" Then the man gets out and dances. Or, if he doesn't want to dance, he walks around the fire once to show that he is game.

I saw a war dance in 1883 at Fort Apache, when Chiricahua scouts were going after Geronimo. They called all the people together in a big open space. . . . .

Then the singer called a certain man by name. He said: "C., you are a man. You are known to be a great warrior. You have fought your enemies in close battle. We are calling you to dance." As soon as he said this, C. had his gun ready. He sprang out there, shooting into the air. Then they kept singing and called another name and another until four or five were out there dancing.

726
535
562
[198]
[551]

The women were at the war dance. But they didn't dance or mix with the men. They stayed about six or eight yards away in a circle around the fire. They made that noise they make in the big tepee at the girl's puberty ceremony. At this war dance the women are all called White Painted Woman. A woman can't be referred to by her own name here. And the men are all called Child of the Water [except when they are named in the song].

726
535
577
156
[626]

Not all men are equally persuaded by this dramatic summons to arms, however:

One fellow refused to fight the Mexicans because he had nothing against them. Hearing the remark, another man started to spear him, but two or three others stopped him. The objector sat down and actually cried. The rest of the group was angry with him. They told him it would have been all right if the other man had speared him. They told him, "You shouldn't say such things! The Mexicans aren't that way and would like to kill you." They all hated him and wouldn't allow him to go to war because his feelings toward Mexicans wouldn't go well in war.

726
535

The "fierce dancing" of the warriors is usually followed by social dances in which the women also participate. The first of these is the round dance, named, for this occasion, "they show resentment against the enemy." "It is done in connection with the war dance before they go out on a war party. It takes place after the war dance but the same night. The people are in a bunch with the women on the outside. They go around the fire in a circle. The circle dance is for everybody." After the round dance come the very partner dances which take place during the nights of the girl's puberty rite, and these occur in the same relative order as on that occasion.

There seems to be some variation according to the scope and seriousness of the enterprise in the number of nights these dances

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726 ahead in the roughest places, looking for signs of the enemy. These are the
725 fastest men.

Another trick is like this. If the enemy is right on their trail and is catching up to them, they get into the roughest, most rocky place they can find. Two Chiricahua scouts stay behind and show themselves to the enemy while the rest conceal themselves. These two act as though they didn't know the enemy is there. They get in range of the enemy. They act as if they had no idea the enemy is in-sight. They go toward the place where their own men are. They are watching though, and are ready to jump and run as soon as the enemy shoots at them. When this happens they will be running toward their own men. These Chiricahua see them coming and let them pass. But the enemy comes after them, and before they know it they are in front of the Chiricahua weapons. This has been done several times, they say. They have to plan what to do beforehand to accomplish it.

726 In the thick of battle the use of the name again operates as a
• 551 solemn claim:

If we are having a fight with Mexicans, or are in any other kind of battle, and everybody runs away from me and leaves me with the enemy shooting at me, it is all right to call a man's name to get help. Maybe P. is the last man and he is starting away and is about to pass me. I call him by his name and say, "Don't leave me here alone with these people!" Then he would say, "Well, that's my name," and he would turn around and begin to fight again. That's how the name is used. If you call his name, it is almost impossible for a man to leave you. In time of peace a person doesn't like to be called by his name.

726 If superior numbers are encountered or if the fight is turning out badly, the warriors disperse:

Sometimes they scatter out and agree to meet at a certain place on a certain day. A small group goes this way and another goes that way. They run on rocks as much as possible so that their tracks will not be seen. They say, "Go on rocks so your tracks will not be fresh. Keep off soft ground."

A person hides his tracks by jumping from rock to rock and from bunch of grass to bunch of grass to get away from those who are following. Another thing he does sometimes is to take grass and rub out his tracks with it so they won't be noticed at some places where they are too plain.

726 Signs on the trail or other devices may be necessary in time
487 of war:

Sometimes they tie a piece of something on a tree and then on another so that they can be trailed by friends who are looking for these signs. The pieces may be a whole day's journey apart. But the Chiricahua is looking for it as he goes along, for the agreement has been made, and he knows what the sign will be. Or they

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

727 [198] [431] *The victory celebration.*—With their booty, the captives, and the scalp, if they have taken one, the warriors journey homeward as rapidly as possible. "When the men come into sight, all the women gather and give their call of applause." If horses or cattle have been obtained, these are distributed, and "everyone who took part in the war gets his share." Each warrior keeps the personally obtained enemy possessions which have fallen into his hands.

A victory is celebrated in dance, song, and feasting. "There is a big fire, and they dance all night and for four days and nights. Some hardly sleep for the four days, they are so proud. All the warriors are dressed as they were in the fight, and some of them wear a hat that they use in battle."

727 535 The dances now performed parallel those which took place before the start of the war party. The first of the set is the "fierce dance." "They have the same kind of war dance they had before the men went out. They have this first and then have social dancing." Again the men are called upon by name, this time to [551] [533] show how they acquitted themselves in the struggle:

> In the songs that follow, the singers tell what the man dancing did. They say, "So-and-so, you did a great thing. Come out and show what you did." Then this man whose name is called comes out, and he shows in action what he did. He doesn't say anything. Those fellows who sing were in the fight. They saw what he did; they tell it in song. Some are too lazy to do anything more than go around the fire once when they are called like this. The war dance the night of the return is the same as before going out.

After the warriors have received recognition, general dancing takes place. "Not only the warriors but all the people who feel good dance. They dance the circle dance, the couple dance, and toward morning the men and women line up in opposite rows, and the two lines go back and forth together. All is just a good time."

The first of these dances in which all those present take part is the round or victory dance, this time called "they come in with the enemy." It is during this dance that the scalp is displayed by some of the groups. When this occurs, it forces no great shift in psychology or content:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

it is permissible "to smack the lips to show that you are enjoying yourself when you are eating out." 264

Not only the stomach but the entire body should be "fed": [826] [481]

> We put grease on the legs when we eat in order to "feed" them. It makes us good runners. After we eat fat meat there is grease on our hands, and we rub them on the legs and say, "Let me be a fast runner." Sometimes the leg bone of an animal is broken, and the marrow is rubbed on the lower legs, the forearms, the hair, and the face while this is said.

There are few special usages in departing from friends or in returning to them. A phrase "said at parting, by people who are very graceful in speech, to a friend, acquaintance, or relative" can be literally tra[illegible] "May we live and see each other again." Upon return[illegible] a long absence, the formal manner of expressing pleasure and greeting is the embrace. "Friends and relatives embrace; if a friend does it, it means that he thinks a great deal of you." 576

Loneliness growing out of separations has a special treatment. "If you are lonesome, if you have lost someone, or if your daughter has gone away and you are worrying all the time, they put a basket over your head four times, and then you are all right. Now they use a bucket or a sack too." 828 [178]

There are no set phrases to be uttered when a friend is encountered in the vicinity of the camps. "We have no words like 'Good morning' or 'Good evening.' But when we meet a person, we have to say something. You can't call a person's name. You must be clever and say something appropriate to the occasion. You might start off by asking, 'Where have you been?' " 576 [551]

The question of greetings and salutations directs attention again to the proper use of the name.[1] The manner of its employment is well summarized in two statements: 576 551

> The name is very valuable. Children are taught not to call a person's name when they meet him. My own name is "Making a Bed All the Time." When I

[1] That the name need not distinguish the sex of the bearer has already been mentioned (see p. 9). An incident illustrates the point. "A woman's name and a man's name are not distinguishable. If I hear nothing more than a name, I have no idea whether it belongs to a man or a woman, just from the sound or meaning. My wife mentioned a certain name. I thought she was talking about a certain man. One day I saw him pass by and I said, "There goes So-and-so 551

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

576 551 was a boy my relatives made a bed for me wherever we stayed, and so I got this name.

576 551 476 I will tell you under what conditions I would call a man's name. If someone in my family died and I wanted help, I would do so. I would go to someone, call him by name, and say, "So-and-so, my wife has died and I need help." The person would then be under obligation to help me all he could. If a man who is in need comes to me and calls me, I would help him at once. I would give what I could.

No matter how poor a man is, if he is called by name, he will do something about it. It makes a person very sad if someone calls on him by name and he is not able to help. If a man calls my name and asks me for something valuable, I will give it to him, because I know he needs it badly. A man is willing to do anything for another if he calls him by name. But if a man asks for something valuable without calling my name, I would consider it a joke, for, if the man really needed it, he would call my name.

[755] [726] If a man is very sick and is sent to a shaman, and he is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he will call him by his name. Also in war or in the war dance the name is used because it is a case of emergency.[1]

---

551 (using the name I had heard from my wife). My wife came and looked. 'Why, that's not his name!' she said. 'It belongs to his wife.' "

[128] Because names have been reduced to initials throughout this study, a number of them are included here in translation to indicate their quality. Most of these could be borne by either men or women; a few, such as "Thin Old Woman" and "Red Boy" could not, for they denote sex.

Names of Women	Names of Men
Stepping on Water	Heavy-Set
Round Nose	Going about with Head Bent Down
One Who Has Sucked	One Who Yawns
One Who Stays at Home	One Who Chews
Streaming Down	One Who Peels It
Sleepy	One Who Checks the Horse
Walks into White Man	Not Quite Enough
Yellow Eyelids	Blessing with Pollen
Buckskin Shaker	Little Rabbit
Thin Old Woman	Coyote Has Sores
	One Who Tears Up Things
	Broken Foot
	Little Face
	Belt

576 551 476 703 [1] An instance of the use of the name in an emergency plea is introduced in one of the myths. Wind had hidden from the earth after a quarrel with Lightning. The rain fell unhindered. Finally, the bees were sent to find Wind and induce him to return to his duties. When they located him, "they called the name of the wind, for it was an emergency, and they called his name to his face."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The only other times a man will call the name of another to his face are when he is drunk or angry; a man in his right senses won't do it. But if a person is angry with another, he drops all reserve and calls the other's name freely, telling him what he thinks of him. You have to be careful about this, for it means a fight.

It is considered very impolite to call a man's name to his face. You might call his name when he is not present, but we think it impolite to call the name of a person who is with you. Not long ago I was by the roadside with a young fellow. An old man was riding past. This young fellow forgot himself and called the rider by name. The old man paid no attention and rode on. The young fellow felt pretty much ashamed.

An occasion when the name was purposely used to start a quarrel was described:

This boy came toward me, calling to me and using my name. "You think you're smart!" he told me. He used my name a lot. He did it with emphasis. Then we started to fight.

Very early the next morning, before I was out of bed, he came over. He had come to tell me that he was sorry for what he had done. He used my name this time too. This was a special occasion; that's why.

The proper use of the name is a potent factor in obtaining a favorable response to a request:

One time my wife and I wanted some medicine to keep. We were collecting lots of roots. We had a sack of them. We didn't know how the leaves of one particular plant looked, so we couldn't collect any. My wife heard that an old lady had this kind we wanted, and she asked me to go and get some.

I didn't want to do it, for I knew this plant was valuable to the old lady. She was a ceremonial woman and used some in her ceremony. But my wife kept bothering me until I went to the old lady's home. First I visited with her for a few minutes. You have to act just so to the old people. When I got there, she began to talk about things, about the weather. When you call on a person you haven't visited before, you are treated extra fine, for that person knows you want some favor.

I didn't want to ask her for it. I guess she thought I needed help. People come to her because of sickness. Finally, she asked me what I wanted. I started to say I didn't come for anything special, and then I had to say it; so I called her by name and said, "So-and-so, I am gathering some plants, just out of curiosity. I have some of my own, but I hear you have a plant used in a certain sickness. If you care to, I wish you would give me a sample of it."

I used the language that brings results. She gave me a handful of it. This medicine is for tuberculosis. It is called "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*].

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

551 574 576 757 When she gave it to me, she told me not to use it, for I didn't know the ceremony and would get into trouble.

Later on she met my wife. She told my wife that ordinarily she would not have given me that medicine, that it is very valuable and she doesn't give it away. But I had come like a gentleman. I knew the old customs and how to call her name. I wasn't like so many of the younger people. I had respect for the old customs, and so she gave it to me. Since then I have been pretty good friends with that old woman.

551 To avoid using names, teknonymy, nicknames, and age terms are resorted to in referring to individuals:

You often hear a person spoken of as the father of So-and-so, the mother of So-and-so. The reason for doing this is that it is an easy way to get around calling a person's name, especially before the person or his relatives. A younger person is spoken of through his older relatives too.

I don't know whether I have a nickname. A person's nickname will never be called before him. H. is known as "He Who Wears Glasses." If I say this, everyone knows who I mean. It is a good way of getting out of calling the real name. But though everyone uses it, I doubt that H. even knows about it, and he probably never will.

J. is called "Mexican." Everyone uses this. But he doesn't know it and probably would not like it. But this is not said for meanness. Even some who use polite form to him call him this.

"Old man" is not used like the English "Mr." We never would say "old man" and then add a man's Chiricahua name. The word refers to age or is used so that the name of a person can be avoided. A man goes to a camp looking for another man. He has to let the people there know what he wants. So he says to the wife or whoever is around, "Where is the old man?" They know who he means then, for he's looking for the man of the family.

Lots of people come around looking for my father-in-law. They don't call him by name, for it is very impolite to call a man by his name just for nothing. So they ask for "the old man." Of course, they might mean me if I were absent. My wife would have to take a chance in answering. She could guess pretty well by who it is. If it's someone I know well or go around with, she would know he was looking for me.

201 576 Persons or objects may be indicated by pointing:

If a man asks where another is, the person spoken to is more likely to point with the lips than with the hand. Now old people come in the store and point to objects on the shelves with their lips. Pointing with the hands is really for emphasis and is not considered polite. It should be done only in anger, when you might say, "That man over there!" and point.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

764 brought is buried with the corpse. What they don't bury with him is burned or
764 destroyed back home. All that a person had is destroyed. They say that what-
768 ever is thrown away with a dead person that belongs to him he carries to the underworld. They want him to have the use of these things in the other world. They don't want him to get there poor. They want to show that they do not hold property above their relative. And they don't want anything that the dead person had used a great deal to be around. It would only remind people of the [775] one who died and bring them sorrow. Also they fear that the ghost of the person who owned the article will come back to molest the one who keeps it.

For the same reasons they kill the horse that has carried the dead person's possessions. It is stabbed in the throat or shot, at or near the grave. If a man has several horses, sometimes they kill them all; sometimes only his favorite horse or horses, the ones he actually used all the time. It is because a person used a thing continually and it is associated with him and reminds you of him that you don't want to keep it. People don't want to see his horse. Because he used to ride it so much, to have it around reminds them of the former owner. Besides they kill the horses so they will go with the dead person. The saddles are burned.

They don't have to kill all the horses of the family though. All the horses of a family are not thought of as belonging to one person, even to the man who is the [422] head of that family. If a family has five or six horses, one is considered the property of a child, another of the wife, and so on. A man might not be considered to possess more than one or two horses of his own. These are his favorites and the [775] ones he always used, and they are killed at his death. They cut the tails and manes of horses if any are kept at the death of a man.

Everything is buried or destroyed. If a woman's baskets or pots are not buried with her, they put holes through them. Nothing is left whole, for they don't want them used again, even by mistake. Usually for a man the only things that are buried with him are his clothes and weapons. Other things are burned.

The things he used in his ceremony are not kept either. Those things are destroyed. Sometimes they put them in the grave with the dead person. Some hang them on a tree. There was one woman who died at Fort Sill. She had a cross that she used in her ceremonial work. They put it in her grave with her. Then at night something like lightning would come out of the grave.

764 When the person died of old age, branches of fruit-bearing trees are used to
766 cover the grave. When an old Indian dies, they bring branches of all trees that
[824] bear fruit. They put the limbs on top of the grave. They say, "Next season I hope
[551] there will be many of these trees." Young people call the dead out by name and say, "I hope that I will also grow old."[1] When a person dies in youth, his name is
[824] not called this way. When they bury a person, they brush off their own bodies
[789] with green grass and then put it on him in the form of a cross. Then they won't
[828] dream of him.

[1] This material was obtained from a Southern Chiricahua informant. A [115] member of the Eastern Chiricahua band claimed to know nothing about the particular procedure.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Because the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one of the most rigid injunctions forbids the mention of the name of the recently deceased. If the dead person must be mentioned, a qualifying phrase provides a safeguard:

[152] There should be no mention of a dead person. To mention the name of the dead reminds relatives of him and makes them feel bad; it only causes sorrow. Besides it might prove dangerous. To call the name of a dead person at any time is bad, and especially after dark.

[195] We are instructed, in case it is necessary to use the name of the dead, to put a word after the name which means "who used to be called." Another way is to say "the one who used to be a relative of So-and-So." The avoidance of the name is not observed only before the relatives of the dead person. It is a general observance.

When an elder of the family, who has been in close contact with the children, dies, their names are changed:

The children of the family get different names then. The person who has died has called the children by this name that is being dropped; that is why they don't want it used any more. The older people don't have their names changed because of this, however.

If the relative who suggested one's name dies, that name is sure to be changed: "'Little' was my first name. Later a name was given to me by my grandmother. When she died, it was changed."

When a person who is named after something of common reference dies, the people are reluctant to use the term for a long time after the death. "They are especially careful around the relatives." Circumlocutions and synonyms are employed until the danger period is past. Even the use of relationship terms is restricted because their utterance might stimulate painful memories or ghost anxieties:

[195] [601] [152]

If you have two relatives that you call by the same relationship term and one of them dies, you don't call the other by this term for a while. You call him by his name until the dead person is forgotten. Then you can use the relationship term to him again.

Those outside the relationship group in which a death has occurred must exercise the greatest care not to arouse the resentment of the bereaved:

What the relatives do not like if a person dies is to see in the next few days anyone wearing a red dress, a red shirt, a red headband, or red clothes of any kind. It hurts the feelings of those who have lost their relative to see this. If a

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[5]

5. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (20).

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

791 539 they tied him up, hung him up in the sun so he couldn't move. They were going to kill him there.

But some of the Hot Springs people asked Cochise about it. They wanted to know why he was treating this man like this; they wanted to know what Enti had done. Enti was sweating there in the sun and he was all cramped up from the way he was tied. "Kill me if you are going to and have it over," he told Cochise.

"Never mind, we'll take care of you when we're good and ready," Cochise told him and went off with some of the Hot Springs people, explaining what Enti had done over in his country.

While Cochise was away telling these things to some of the Hot Springs men, my father came along. He had been drinking and was feeling pretty happy. He saw Enti hung there, twisting and suffering from the heat. He took his knife and cut the ropes. Enti jumped on a horse and got away again. This was the time he came to Mescalero country. Cochise was certainly angry when he found out Enti was gone. But he was afraid to get after my father, for my father had many friends there.

Enti was finally killed at Mescalero. He made many enemies. Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, "I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you." So one time they killed him.[19]

He knew that Enti was his name. They called him that right to his face.[20]

787 539 ### 5. *The Man Who Signed Up With the Devil*

It's a very nasty thing I heard about a certain man. This happened about 1913, the spring of 1913, twenty years ago this month. Everybody says this fellow is a witch. He got sick

[754] [19] There is considerable evidence that there were Chiricahua Apache who believed that they could harm or kill fellow tribesmen whom they disliked by means of supernatural power and who made threats and boasts concerning such activity, usually when under the influence of intoxicants.

[551] [578] [20] A Chiricahua will address a person by name only in anger or in an emergency situation. The implication here is that this man was occasionally called by this unsavory name in anger.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

75
731
778
787 Use these and it won't hurt you." But death was around already and he didn't sing any more. My family got busy. We pounded up a whole sack of the needles of the one-seeded juniper, and others did it too.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 223.)

755
756
778 Usually, however, it is enough if the shaman simply performs his ceremony as he has learned it from his power source; if he chants his prayers, sings his songs, and manipulates his sacred substances in the correct manner he may expect that the power source will be gratified and will intercede to restore the patient to health.

[158] P went to see this boy who was a lunatic. They had to catch the boy every afternoon, for he had a fit and was a danger. After praying, P. made the cross and put pollen in the boy's mouth. When he started, the boy was tied hand and foot to the bed. P. sang the songs for him. After he had finished his ceremony, the boy was all right. He works now and is still well.

756
778 The shaman feels the importance of his position and must protect the dignity of his power source as well. Therefore his services must be requested humbly and in a prescribed manner.

[551] When you need the help of a shaman you call his name (the personal name is used only in emergencies), plead with him, and put a cross of pollen on his foot. Then there is no question about it; he must help you.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 258.)

A successful shaman is paid liberally at the conclusion of a cure, but even before a rite may begin, ceremonial payment to the power source must be made.

His power always requires special things for a shaman to cure with, and you must have these ready. If you don't know what these are and don't want to ask him (some shamans don't like to say anything about what you must pay them), you must go to someone he has cured to find out what to give him when